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Pres

BRIEFING NOTES OF DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE FOR
NSC MEETING - 10 JULY 1957.

I. Events in USSR most dramatic in recent years.

- A. Collective dictatorship ended.
- B. Khrushchev has clear-cut control of party apparatus, with no dangerous rival in party-- only eventual rival might be military leader such as Zhukov.
- C. For first time, in 20 years, central committee has exercised real powers as against presidium (politburo).
- D. Important divergencies of views have been surfaced regarding domestic foreign and satellite policies. (Decentralization of economic control, agricultural policy, policy regarding Yugoslavia, the free world, and satellites.)
- E. Majority of presidium now second-level figures, with five well known eliminated and nine added. Zhukov and Mikoyan (latter probably not aspirant for power) most influential after Khrushchev.
- F. I will discuss conclusions after dealing with "events."

II. Events.

- A. During visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev to Finland, which ended 14 June, resentment among members of

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presidium against Khrushchev's high-handed actions-- particularly in economic and agricultural fields-- apparently boiled up.

When Khrushchev returned to Moscow with Bulganin, rebels in presidium apparently had a majority against him. They arranged call meeting of presidium to discuss attitude at Leningrad ceremony. There were several days of heated debate. K., still in minority, was asked to resign. (Three presidium members absent from Moscow during this period.)

K. demanded call of central committee. Rebels fought it but K. able to achieve this--possibly with Zhukov's support--because technically he could not be fired without central committee vote. Thus, Khrushchev, the gambler, won first and decisive round at central committee, largely filled with his appointees. (K. had been first party secretary since 1953.)

Since January '53 (Beria), army, rather than MVD troops, had security guard at Kremlin. (Hence, rebels couldn't do a Beria operation. (Here power of Zhukov apparent.)

- B. Central committee met June 22 and debated until 29 June-- 255 full and candidate members--60 said to have spoken. Central committee largely packed with Khrushchev's protégés and appointees.

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On one side, the rebels, Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, Shepilov, maybe Pervukhin, etc. On other, Khrushchev, Zhukov, Furtseva, Suslov, etc.

Khrushchev had the right to open the debate. Proceedings still secret, but one report alleges Molotov particularly attacked Khrushchev for endangering nation by denunciation of Stalin and 20th party congress, and called him "the grave-digger of Communism." Kaganovich alleged to have said that Khrushchev had cut off "the branch on which we all sit."

C. Charges against rebels (as reported in resolution of central committee.)

1. They tried to change membership of presidium and secretariat (i.e., to oust Khrushchev).
2. They opposed doing away with personality cult.
(This particularly directed against Molotov).
3. They opposed rehabilitation of minority peoples deported by Stalin during World War II.
4. They opposed reorganization of industrial management. (This most important.)

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5. They opposed agricultural policy, designed, as K. argued, to "overtake US in next few years in per capita, in milk, butter, and meat." (Also opposed releasing peasants from compulsory delivery from private farms.)
 6. On foreign policy: Rebels opposed friendship with Yugoslavia, conclusion of Austrian treaty, normalization of relations with Japan.
 7. Rebels opposed advisability of establishing personal contact with leaders of other countries.
 8. In general, rebels were attacked as "shackled by old notions and methods."
- D. From length of debate (one week), assume issue in balance in central committee for some time. Probable that Zhukov's intervention decisive and when switch came, all went with Khrushchev and Zhukov. Resolution adopted 29 June by unanimous vote; "with one abstention, in the person of Comrade Molotov."
- The rebels were removed from their party posts. (Allowed for the moment to keep party membership.)
- E. Subsequently, Saburov and Pervukhin also removed from the presidium, although Pervukhin remains as a candidate member.

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F. Bulganin's role uncertain. Most reports put him initially in camp of rebels and reports from Prague give sorry picture of his physical state--maybe next to go but probably to be retained for time being as "facade."

1. Possibility he might be replaced by Zhukov (who could then correspond directly with President Eisenhower).
2. Konev is likely successor as defense minister if this happens.

G. Probably several purgees will lose party memberships, but show-trial unlikely. However, popular feeling against them being roused by digging up crimes going back ten years or more if later decided have trials for some.

1. Malenkov has been appointed director of a hydro-electric station in Ust Kamenogorsk (250,000 KW) in central Siberia. "One step from oblivion"--200 miles from Outer Mongolia and China (Semi-palatinsk--land of "fall-out").

III. Conclusions:

A. Khrushchev, the dictator, is a dangerous, impulsive and somewhat unbalanced man. May take dangerous initiatives,

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though possibly subject Zhukov control where military ventures involved.

- B. However, Khrushchev, a shrewd opportunist, is committed by his statements to favor coexistence, differing roads to socialism, reconciliation with Yugoslavia and increasing intercourse with other countries. May follow this road for a time unless pushed into corner by events, domestic or foreign.
- C. Position regarding China probably unchanged but will court Yugoslavia. Future policy regarding European satellites--murky. Khrushchev and Zhukov were artisans of Hungarian repression; otherwise his pronouncements would seem to favor relaxation--but does he dare?
- D. Probably no change regarding disarmament, but maybe K. will need a startling accomplishment here.
- E. Faces grave internal problems with programs to which he is personally committed--in field of industry and agriculture; serious failures here might end him.

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- F. The evolution started by Stalin's death goes on apace. For first time we have decisions reached after debate in a relatively large body even though hand-picked one. (But hand-picked people don't always act as the pickers want.)
- G. The steam seems to have gone out of fanatical, ideological Communism. Three main questions:
- Can party careerists make highly organized industrial system work?
 - If they fail, can Khrushchev save himself with present and new grandiose schemes?
 - Will a military dictatorship possibly follow-- Zhukov?
- H. French revolutionary leader Vergniaud remarked before his execution in 1793: "The Revolution, like Saturn, devours its children." So is the Communist revolution in the USSR. Historical analogies are tempting though often misleading but there are certain striking points of similarity between French and Russian Revolutions although order and timing of events very different. This raises question whether now approaching "Napoleonic" era in Soviet revolution and evolution.

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